This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

US
178
9.15
WIDENER LIBRARY
HX TA8L W

US 14178.29.15

Harvard College Library

ADDED TO THE

PARKMAN COLLECTION OF
CANADIAN HISTORY

BY GIFT OF

CLARANCE MACDONALD WARNER

WHAT

A PLOUGHMAN SAID

ABOUT THE

"HINTS TO FARMERS,"

MADE LAST APRIL,

BY MEN OF "TRADE."

KINGSTON:
MAY, 1829.

US. 14175.29.15

H[illegible] Library
[illegible] 24, 1917.
Gift of
Clarance M. Warner.

WHAT A PLOUGHMAN SAID.

FARMERS OF RHODE-ISLAND,

LAST April a little book was circulated among us. This book is called "Hints to the Farmers of Rhode-Island." It was fabricated, printed and sent abroad to deceive; and to induce us to set aside our *tried* and *faithful* Senators; to displace our Representatives; and elect such a General Assembly as would abolish Free Schools; overthrow the Supreme Court; destroy every improvement in the State; and take the money appropriated to those useful purposes, which, when once in *their* hands we should never again get into ours.

We were, in some degree, deceived by this book; for we voted for the Jackson Prox, and have deprived ourselves of the services of our former *faithful Republican* Senators. But though wanting to ourselves, our good fortune did not desert us; for our Representatives being also Republicans, have stood firm to our interest, and by their firmness, saved the State.

Although the dangers are now past, yet may it not be useful to give this book some examination? Sailors, as we are told, when they have escaped peril from *sunken* rocks or *under water* currents, mark the place on their charts, that all future navigators may shun the like jeopardy. It is customary in some countries, to set up a large wooden cross at the place where a robbery has been committed, thereby to warn travellers, that felons may be lurking near their path. Criminals too are sometimes hung in gibbets near where they did their last exploit of villany. It will, therefore, be useful for us, as well as somewhat amusing, to inquire who made this book; that we may see if they are persons likely to do any thing for the benefit of the Farmers of Rhode-

Island; to look into the manner in which it was scattered over the State, and see, if a thing done so slyly, and so much in the dark, could be intended for any good purpose; and finally to examine the book itself, thereby to demonstrate how truth and falsehood have been so *mixed* and *kneaded* together in the work that the whole composition should be foul and poisonous and destructive to all who might receive it.

Notwithstanding the authors of this mischievous work took unwearied pains to hide their *trail;* yet since the effects of it are seen, they have been traced, pursued, discovered, and are now as well known, as ever a party of savages were, after they had broken into a house in the night time, and carried off the scalps of all the women and children found in it.

Who are they? Messrs. ELISHA R. POTTER, WILKINS UPDIKE, JOHN R. WATERMAN, and the Editor of a Newspaper in Providence, called the "HERALD." What have these men, or either of them, done for "the Farmers of Rhode-Island?"

Mr. POTTER, I agree, is a great landholder. He owns many farms. He is exorbitantly rich in lands, in money, in banks; and is now picking up some of his *loose corns*, and building a Cotton Factory. He is powerful. Who that has dared to cross his path, within reach of his arm, has not felt his iron hand? He leases many farms. Did he ever lease one without an agreement, made by the tenant, not only to pay the rent, but also to vote for his landlord on all occasions? He leases corners of land for life, to poor men, to build little houses upon, and thereby become freemen. *This is well;* but they are his *men*, bound by the most *solemn* promises, to *vote* for him. He loans money in small sums, on perfect security; gets the highest rate of interest, which can be squeezed out of his debtor; and then *over* and *above* all, exacts a promise to vote for him. He never helped a man to a loan from one of his banks, without an express, or *implied* promise, to be a *Potter's man*. Indeed all these unfortunate men, whether debtors, lessees, or those aided by him at his banks, are his vassals, and slaves, as really as the peasants of a Russian lord are his slaves, although not exactly in the same way. He, sometimes, gives his *men* a kind of play day. It is when he *promises* a friend, *po-*

litically, that he will support him. He then votes *for* that friend, *himself*, and every *Potter's man* votes *against* him. These are some of the qualifications of Mr. *Elisha R. Potter*, one of the authors of the little book, called "Hints to the Farmers of Rhode-Island."

The next is WILKINS UPDIKE, Esq. Wilkins is a *Potter's man*. You have seen boys, when they were topping corn stalks, stop and make a whistle out of the hollow stem of a leaf, cut from a pumpkin vine. Just such a play thing is Mr *Wilkins Updike*, in the hand of Mr. *Elisha R. Potter*. If Mr. Potter wishes to make a noise with him, he makes a noise. If tired of him he throws him down in the dirt, as the boys do their pumpkin vine whistle--there he *lies*, till Master Potter pleases to *pick* him up again. At the last General Assembly Mr. *Potter set him up* for Speaker; but he would not *go*. He then *screwed* him up and put him to *play* a speech against the Supreme Court. Mr. *Potter* himself made *one* speech *to the House* on the other side; but went into the *lobby*, and made *another*, in praise of *Updike*. "He had never heard," as he *protested*, "such another speech as *Squire Updike* had made, though he had heard great speaking in Congress, and other places." This, Farmers of Rhode-Island, is the *second* of the authors of "Hints" to you.

JOHN R. WATERMAN, Esq. is a *third* man in working up this book of "Hints." It is difficult to describe Mr. Waterman, otherwise than as men, who are sometimes *missing* are described, by *height*, *features* and *complexion*. He is indeed quite a *various* man; and it may be said of him as it was of that Counsellor of Absalom who, one day, set his house in order, and hanged himself. He was

"*Ev'ry* thing by fits, and *nothing* long."

He was high for Adams one year ago. The freemen of Warwick then dropt him for *cause* as a Representative. He had no sooner touched the ground, than he whipt over on his *other* side; and sprang upon his feet "A Jackson man." If he is *any* thing, it is *one* of Mr. Potter's *conveniences*. The "Hints" have been a useful book to Mr. Waterman; for Mr. Danforth, the Collector, finding him pretty *ready* in *figuring*, has appointed him Weigher in the Custom House, with a sal-

ary of about *thirteen hundred and sixty five* dollars a year.

The *fourth* and last is the Editor or one of the Editors of the "Herald." This paper is believed to have had several persons occupied in that business, and of these one *was* WALTER R. DANFORTH Esq. Mr. Danforth was *handy* with his pen; and undertook to *smoothe* and *polish* the rough *fabrication* produced by Mr. *Updike* from the *raw materials* furnished by Mr. *Potter* and Mr. Waterman. He was *then* very anxious for the success of the Jackson Prox; and, therefore, was willing to *labor* at the *job*, furnished him by his three copartners in the authorship of the "Hints." But, if the truth could be known, it would *now* undoubtedly be found, that Mr. *Danforth* cares as little at *this time* for the "Hints," as he did at *that*, for the concerns of those to whom they were made. The President of the United States has, since the "Hints" were published by him, appointed Mr. Danforth Collector of the port of Providence, with an income of *three thousand dollars* a year.

Now, my brothers of the Plough, what think you? Do these men know much about our concerns? Do they care much for our interests? Mr. *Elisha R. Potter* is rich enough to buy one hundred of us, if we be *poor* enough to make sale of ourselves to him. Mr. *Wilkins Updike* is Mr. *E. R. Potter's*—any thing! his whistle; and plays for none but *Potter's men.* Mr. *Waterman* is snug in his office, at Providence, for the next third of a dozen years; and whether farmers raise little or great crops, will trouble him but little, if he can work it so as to get things of us cheap. *W. R. Danforth*, Esq. is Collector of Providence, certain of his $3000 a year; and will trouble none of us again with "Hints," till four years from last November; when he will "hint" to us that we ought to vote for Andrew Jackson, or whomsoever else will be most likely to keep *him*, in his office of Collector.

If we require more to convince us, that these gentlemen intended no good for us, by writing their book of "Hints to the Farmers of Rhode-Island," we may find it in the manner in which, it was scattered about the State. It was secretly printed in Providence, at the office of the "Herald." To this place no one goes, unless he be a Jackson man of the newest fashion. This

paper has but few subscribers; and was got up by a contract among a small number of partizans, who subscribed one hundred dollars each to set it in motion. Here these "Hints" were printed; and from this place committed to those partizans, sworn to secresy; and by them they were delivered to messengers *privately* to be carried to the *new Senators*, and their immediate friends, who were *engaged* to hand them about in every neighborhood; but to keep them from the eyes of all who would be *likely* to detect their falsehoods, or explain their misrepresentations. In this manner, this Book was scattered abroad like a contagious distemper; nor was it until too late, known to any one, who could have stopped the pestilence; or furnished a remedy for the disease. A few days only before the election, the Book was discovered, nor could it then be credited by those who knew its misrepresentations, that a thing so *grossly false*, could be received as truth. They were mistaken. It had passed on, in darkness, and silence; being unknown, it went to the hands of *honest* men, unsuspected and uncontradicted; and they received as truth, what no one denounced as falsehood. Thus we have been deceived, and betrayed into an act of extreme injustice. We have listened to secret and false allegations against *those* of our Senators, who have served us with *faithfulness* and *ability;* and we have *dismissed* them from our *employment*, without letting them know what was *alleged* against them; and without giving them opportunity to make their defence. We ought to have *heard* them, before we dismissed them; but this we cannot *now* do. Let us then have the justice to examine candidly "this Book of Hints." For tho' it is made *by* our enemies, *against* our friends; yet if we find it *true* we will believe it; if *false* we will *hold up* its authors to *scorn, contempt* and *indignation;* and stand on our *guard* against *future* deceptions.

Mr. Potter and his *men* begin their "Hints" by saying: "Rhode-Island was once prosperous and happy;" "her Legislators were wise and prudent; and her" "finances were administered with economy. But that" "day has passed away. Poverty, distress and ruin," "with a steady pace are marching upon us. For the last" "six years our State Council have scattered and wast-" "ed our resources in delirious extravagance."

These are *serious* and *weighty* charges; but how has it happened, that we have *never* been told of them until *since* General Jackson was elected President of the United States? Until this spring? Mr. Potter has been a member of this "State Council," this General Assembly, during the whole "six years of their delirium." Mr. Wilkins Updike has been Potter's next door neighbour, *all* this time; Mr. Waterman has been in and out of the House; and Mr. Danforth has all the time been Editor of a Newspaper in Providence; the very printing types of which were purchased and owned by Mr. Potter.—Did not he know what they were doing? Yes, truly, and he took a part in all their measures; and voted for all their "delirious extravagance." Why was he *silent* to the people? Why not *tell* them that he and that Assembly had been wasting their resources? If he was too diffident to do it, why not put wind into his whistle? Wilkins was *not* diffident. He would have *blown* the story out in every grog shop and bar-room in the County of Washington. Why not tell Waterman and let him tell it to Walter; so that he might print this "delirious extravagance" in his "Microcosm" or "Herald?" Tell me Mr. Potter, tell the farmers of Rhode-Island why you have been *silent* so long, and concealed from them, what you, either moved, or seconded, or voted for in the General Assembly? If it were so "wasteful" why did you *vote* for it? If you did not vote for it why have you *secreted* it? I have often heard you say the "receiver is as bad as the thief." You have become accessary after the fact; and by every principle of law or rule of justice, are equally culpable, and equally entitled to punishment with the principal delinquents.

I will not press you on this point; for notwithstanding the terms of reproach in which you have spoken of you own doings, they are, and will always be considered, the most meritorious DEEDS of your whole life.

What have this assembly, this "Senate" and House of Representatives done, during the last six years? Now Farmers of Rhode-Island, attend, and call to mind what we know ourselves; and for a moment forget the calumny of those who scatter "hints" among us.

First, they have reformed the judiciary, and placed a Supreme Court on the bench, equal in respectabili-

ty, with those of our sister States. By this, land and life, and liberty, are more secure. Every farmer, as he steps on his soil, feels a firmer foundation under his foot, and a higher assurance, that he shall live, be free, and transmit to his children the fee simple derived to him from his father.

Second, they have paid the grand juries for taking care of the public peace; and the jury of trials for attending and patiently investigating controversies between different people in the State.

Third, they have established Free Schools in the several towns, and for that purpose they have distributed *ten thousand dollars* among those towns, and thus laid a foundation for diffusing knowledge and perpetuating Republican equality among the people.

Fourth, they have paid the public officers a reasonable compensation; and thereby placed the State in a condition of independence on their own servants.

Fifth, they have effected all these things, without calling, by a State tax, on the landed interest for a single cent.

Sixth, finally, this State Council, "this Senate" have surrendered their power into your hands, delivered over to you the administration of your finances, and according to the Treasurer's yearly account, with more than ten thousand dollars in your Treasury. All these things are within your own knowledge; nor can the truth of them be blotted out by the *types* of Walter, or overthrown by the *wind* of Wilkins, or denied by the diffidence of Mr. Potter. Where then is the "delirious extravagance" of this "Senate?" Which way shall we look for the poverty, distress and ruin, which, according to the "Hints," are in brigades now marching upon us?

The authors of the "hints," to illustrate present profusion by former economy, tell us that, "the annual expenses of the State were not over *seven thousand dollars*; but that now they have swelled to the startling amount of *eighteen thousand dollars* per annum. Do they intend we shall by this believe that the "State Council," the Senate, annually wasted or embezzled the sum of *nine thousand dollars*, the difference between these two amounts? No, not quite so bad as that. They deduct from the *nine thousand dollars* the sum, which

they say is paid to the Representatives, viz: *Two thousand five hundred and thirty five dollars*, leaving *eight thousand four hundred and sixty-five dollars*, and very gravely ask, if it will take this whole balance to pay the juries their legal compensation. These men know that the whole expenses of the State, are comprehended in distinct classes of expenditure, such as

1. The salary of the Governor.
2. " of the Lieutenant Governor.
3. " of the Secretary of State.
4. " of the General Treasurer.
5. " of the Judges of the Supreme Judicial Court.
6. The allowance to the Attorney General.
7. The daily compensation of the Senate.
8. The daily pay of the members of the House of Representatives.
9. The compensation of the Clerks of the House.
10. The pay of Grand Juries.
11. The pay of the Juries of Trials.
12. The amount paid to the Free School Fund.
13. The compensation of Justices of the Peace for certain services in the administration of justice in criminal cases.
14. The compensation to Ministerial Officers, such as Sheriffs, Jailors, Constables, Sergeants and Waiters.
15. Accounts for services rendered, and materials furnished to the State.
16. The amount paid Jailors for the support of State Prisoners.

All these salaries, compensations and fees, are regulated and established by a law passed, not by the Senate alone; but by both Houses, with the Governor presiding in the upper House. The sum allowed to the free school fund, is allowed by law. All accounts for services by any Sheriff, Clerk, Jailor, Constable, Sergeant or Waiter, or by any person for services rendered, or for materials furnished to the State, are examined by the General Assembly, either with or without a committee, and accordingly allowed and passed. Not a cent can be drawn from the Treasury, but by virtue of a law, enacted by the whole General Assembly. In which of all these have your "State Council" exhausted and scattered your resources with delirious extravagance?"

It is asserted in these "Hints" that the Government used to cost formerly, that is six years ago, $7000 annually; but for the last six years it has cost $18,000, annually. Examine the following statement from the Records of the Treasury Office. The cost of the Government was in the year

1818	$11,854	51.
1819	12,754	05.
1820	14,882	14.
1821	11,532	04.
1822	11,077	55.

The average is $12,410 a year. Take from this $7000, the amount which Mr. Potter and his men say it used to cost; and $5410 remain. This is correct. Did not those men know that by the records, they would be convicted of telling—not the truth?

What has the Government cost a year for the last six years?

In 1823	$17,697	35	
*1824	19,499	95	*The State Convention for framing a Constitution set this year.
1825	15,360	69	
1826	13,908	61	
1827	15,426	53	
1828	15,300	45	

Average $16,198 a year

Mr. Potter and his men say $18,000 a year.

Difference - - - - 1,802

Add as above - - - - 5,410 difference from the truth, per record, $7,212 against Mr. Potter and his men.

You see therefore that the average expenses for the last six years, are $16,198, not $18,000 as the "Hints" have it. The yearly expenses before that time were $12,410, not $7,000 as these "Hints" tell us. Mr. Potter and his men had falsified the record only $7,212 a year. The difference between expenses now and six years ago is $3,788. I have not been able to look at all the records in the Clerks offices in each County to see what we pay the juries a year; but I find in South-Kingstown it is $586 73 cents. I think in Kent it must be $450; in Providence $1160; in Bristol $220, and in Newport $837. All these amount to $3,052. This leaves a balance of $736, being a little more than is paid to the Supreme Court for their additional salaries.—Where then have our Senators for the last six years

wasted $8,465 a year in "delirious extravagance?"—The whole amount that has been wisely and faithfully paid to our juries and our Supreme Court is $3,788; all but a few dollars, of which, if all the accounts were critically examined, would be found to have gone to repair some jail or Court House.

Mr. Potter and his men having appointed themselves "our guardians", go on in their "Hints" to tell us what has been done. The following things are set down by them.

First, "At the June Session, 1825, the General Assembly voted to pay Charles Giles $200 in full for copying two Books of ancient records." This service he had performed by order of the General Assembly at the June Session, 1824. The second charge is in this form: "At the January Session, 1828, voted and resolved, that the sum of $200 be paid out of the General Treasury to *Henry Bowen*, for his services, in full, for collecting and copying the ancient records of this State, from the year 1686 to 1715 and comparing the same." We are told by these men of "Hints," that these services were "equally extravagant and useless; and calculated only to gratify the literary curiosity of antiquarians." It is agreed that these *ancient* records were in a condition of *rapid* decay, and unless copied, would in a few years *utterly* perish and be *forever* lost. These ancient records contained the various transactions of our *forefathers*, the *founders* and *first settlers* of this State.—In these were contained the early laws, the wise provisions for civil and religious freedom devised by those venerable men. Here too were to be found the *first* appropriations of land, the *divisions* of Counties and Towns; and the limits and boundaries of *lots* in the Towns, and *farms* in the Country. What Landholder, what Farmer has no interest in the preservation of these "ancient records?" These monuments of original decision, and this first assurance of land title in Rhode-Island? Who can be found utterly *regardless* of the doings of those men, who *first* of all, since the creation of the world, established a community endowed with perfect liberty of conscience, and held forth to the world the *earliest*, and then the *only* "experiment that a civil State could best flourish with the *utmost* freedom in religious concernments." It was for the preservation of the "ancient

records" of such a State, that the "State Council," the General Assembly, paid $400. These men of "Hints" would have left those "ancient records" to perish; but no *farmer*, no *genuine* descendant of those champions of freedom, would sell these securities to the lands of his fathers, and this heritage of their glory, for that mess of political *pottage* which *two* of those men have already received, and which *another* of them is now *reaching* out his hand to obtain. I once knew a miscreant who pawned the clothes of his father and mother to a Jew broker for *five dollars*; but he had too much grace to sell them until he had *liquidated* and *swallowed* the last acre, left him by his parents. What do these men say? Why they abuse us for paying a few dollars for preserving memorials of our fathers; and redeeming from obliteration, dust and destruction, what any other people would regard as a sacred deposit, *never* to be lost, or suffered to decay.

The *third* accusation made by Mr. Potter and his men, is, that "the General Assembly at the June Session, 1827, voted to the Rhode-Island Historical Society the sum of $500, to enable them to collect and preserve whatever relates to the topography, antiquities, and natural, civil, and ecclesiastical history of the State." Is this "delirious extravagance?" This appropriation was moved by Henry Bull; was seconded by E. R. Potter; and voted unanimously in both Houses. Governor Fenner is the President of this Historical Society. Does he not know the importance, as well as the expense of collecting materials for a faithful history of the State? Did these men mean to say to the Farmers that the Governor would waste this donation; or that the State of Rhode-Island had done nothing to be recorded in history? They do indeed seem to regard us, who follow the plough in Rhode-Island, as men too niggardly to be at any expense in giving to the world any historical account of our own State, or of those men who while alive not only honored *that* State by their distinguished actions, but also illustrated the glory of our *country*, and were truly ornaments to human nature.

Nothing in the most debased condition of human nature is so utterly mean, and heartless, as that spirit of envy which abuses the living to defraud the dead; and plunders a bereaved people of the consolations of grat-

itude, under the paltry pretence of saving to the State the expenses of a monument. It is under the influence of such a spirit that Mr. Potter and his men have made a *fourth* charge against your former Senate. I will not dishonor any other form of words than those which they have chosen to use for this purpose. Take it in their own terms. "Within the last year, the Senate "have been strangely inert and nerveless in holding the "purse-strings of the State,—their laxity in moral cour- "age threatens approaching beggary. The doors of "the Treasury are thrown open to projectors and favor- "ites, and they have felt no diffidence in profiting by "the indulgence. For example, at October Session "last, the General Assembly passed the following vote." In this style they introduce a resolution of the House of Representatives authorising Messrs. Hazard, Bull and J. L. Tillinghast, to draw on the Treasury for so much of $200 as will pay for a marble slab to be placed over the grave of OLIVER HAZARD PERRY. This was a "throwing open the doors of the Treasury to *projectors* and *favorites!* This is to *beggar* the State!" A marble slab over the grave, on the green hill of Brinton's Point, just to tell the traveller where his body reposes! Who can read this accusation without a thrill of horror? "The Senate," they aver, "should have called the United States to pay for a grave stone to Commodore Perry." What Rhode-Island man does not feel his face burn at this suggestion? OLIVER H. PERRY of RHODE-ISLAND; the hero of Lake Erie; the Nelson of his country. His achievements are talked over by mariners of every tongue on every sea; his fame is spread to all regions washed by a wave of the ocean. Does Mr. Potter believe the people of Rhode-Island would, for this, or any other amount in dollars and cents, give up their claim to the glory of Perry? Should every man in the State be requested to bring a stone, on some Fourth of July morning, to build a monument to Perry, each LANDHOLDER of Rhode-Island would BEFORE SUNRISE stand on the "hill-top" where he lies, with a block of granite, shaped, and hewn, ready to fill its place in a pyramid, higher than those of Egypt, and not to be overthrown, until the wash of the waves at its foot, had worn out the *last rock* in Brinton's reef.

Those who would defraud the dead, are never very

scrupulous concerning the rights of the living. We are told in the "Hints to Farmers" as a *fifth* accusation, that the whole "State Debt" is a cheat; a trick of speculators to draw money from our pockets without any just consideration. These men know, and none better than they, how much more readily people believe a pleasant falsehood, than a disagreeable truth.—After being in debt forty years, it would indeed be very delightful to find, that we do not, and never did, owe a cent.

At the close of the Revolutionary war, the United States owed about fifty-four millions of dollars; and the several States owed about twenty-five millions.—The United States have been paying their debts; the other States have been paying; and Rhode-Island has been from time to time, paying off her. State debt.—How is all this? Wilkins Updike, Walter R. Danforth, John R. Waterman and Elisha R. Potter, did, this spring, just before "proxing" for General Officers, discover that all our CREDITORS are ROGUES and WE are ALL FOOLS. You, farmers of Rhode-Island, will EASILY determine in which of these CHARACTERS, these GENTLEMEN do MOST of their business. I once heard of a farmer who called on a JOCKEY for payment for a horse, sold by him to this man some years before. I paid you at the time said the gentleman HORSE TRADER. You paid me, said the farmer, in surprise! I never received a CENT for the beast. Not paid you, again exclaims the other; why d——mn it, did'nt I give you my note for the horse? Even the JOCKEY was not quite GRACELESS enough to DENY that he ever RECEIVED the farmer's horse; and therein discovered that he had in him, perhaps, more of the FOOL and less of the OTHER character than that man, or his MEN seem justly to claim for themselves in their account of the State debt.

I would not say another word concerning this debt, were it not for the infamous slander on the State of Rhode-Island, which these men have propagated. If you have read their "Hints," you must recollect the following statement. It is quoted from the 9th page:

"FELLOW CITIZENS:—Let us inquire into the history of the pretended STATE DEBT, as few of you are apt to recollect the time and circumstances out of which it grew. In the Revolutionary war the confederated Congress passed an act, that for all the expenses

US. 14175.29.15

H[illegible] Library
[illegible] 1917.
[illegible] of
Clarance M. Warner.

WHAT A PLOUGHMAN SAID.

FARMERS OF RHODE-ISLAND,

Last April a little book was circulated among us. This book is called "Hints to the Farmers of Rhode-Island." It was fabricated, printed and sent abroad to deceive; and to induce us to set aside our *tried* and *faithful* Senators; to displace our Representatives; and elect such a General Assembly as would abolish Free Schools; overthrow the Supreme Court; destroy every improvement in the State; and take the money appropriated to those useful purposes, which, when once in *their* hands we should never again get into ours.

We were, in some degree, deceived by this book; for we voted for the Jackson Prox, and have deprived ourselves of the services of our former *faithful Republican* Senators. But though wanting to ourselves, our good fortune did not desert us; for our Representatives being also Republicans, have stood firm to our interest, and by their firmness, saved the State.

Although the dangers are now past, yet may it not be useful to give this book some examination? Sailors, as we are told, when they have escaped peril from *sunken* rocks or *under water* currents, mark the place on their charts, that all future navigators may shun the like jeopardy. It is customary in some countries, to set up a large wooden cross at the place where a robbery has been committed, thereby to warn travellers, that felons may be lurking near their path. Criminals too are sometimes hung in gibbets near where they did their last exploit of villany. It will, therefore, be useful for us, as well as somewhat amusing, to inquire who made this book; that we may see if they are persons likely to do any thing for the benefit of the Farmers of Rhode-

Island; to look into the manner in which it was scattered over the State, and see, if a thing done so slyly, and so much in the dark, could be intended for any good purpose; and finally to examine the book itself, thereby to demonstrate how truth and falsehood have been so *mixed* and *kneaded* together in the work that the whole composition should be foul and poisonous and destructive to all who might receive it.

Notwithstanding the authors of this mischievous work took unwearied pains to hide their *trail;* yet since the effects of it are seen, they have been traced, pursued, discovered, and are now as well known, as ever a party of savages were, after they had broken into a house in the night time, and carried off the scalps of all the women and children found in it.

Who are they? Messrs. ELISHA R. POTTER, WILKINS UPDIKE, JOHN R. WATERMAN, and the Editor of a Newspaper in Providence, called the "HERALD." What have these men, or either of them, done for "the Farmers of Rhode-Island?"

Mr. POTTER, I agree, is a great landholder. He owns many farms. He is exorbitantly rich in lands, in money, in banks; and is now picking up some of his *loose corns*, and building a Cotton Factory. He is powerful. Who that has dared to cross his path, within reach of his arm, has not felt his iron hand? He leases many farms. Did he ever lease one without an agreement, made by the tenant, not only to pay the rent, but also to vote for his landlord on all occasions? He leases corners of land for life, to poor men, to build little houses upon, and thereby become freemen. *This is well;* but they are his *men*, bound by the most *solemn* promises, to *vote* for him. He loans money in small sums, on perfect security; gets the highest rate of interest, which can be squeezed out of his debtor; and then *over* and *above* all, exacts a promise to vote for him. He never helped a man to a loan from one of his banks, without an express, or *implied* promise, to be a *Potter's man*. Indeed all these unfortunate men, whether debtors, lessees, or those aided by him at his banks, are his vassals, and slaves, as really as the peasants of a Russian lord are his slaves, although not exactly in the same way. He, sometimes, gives his *men* a kind of play day. It is when he *promises* a friend, *po-*

litically, that he will support him. He then votes *for* that friend, *himself*, and every *Potter's man* votes *against* him. These are some of the qualifications of Mr. *Elisha R. Potter*, one of the authors of the little book, called "Hints to the Farmers of Rhode-Island."

The next is WILKINS UPDIKE, Esq. Wilkins is a *Potter's man*. You have seen boys, when they were topping corn stalks, stop and make a whistle out of the hollow stem of a leaf, cut from a pumpkin vine. Just such a play thing is Mr *Wilkins Updike*, in the hand of Mr. *Elisha R. Potter*. If Mr. Potter wishes to make a noise with him, he makes a noise. If tired of him he throws him down in the dirt, as the boys do their pumpkin vine whistle--there he *lies*, till Master Potter pleases to *pick* him up again. At the last General Assembly Mr. *Potter set him up* for Speaker; but he would not *go*. He then *screwed* him up and put him to *play* a speech against the Supreme Court. Mr. *Potter* himself made *one* speech *to the House* on the other side; but went into the *lobby*, and made *another*, in praise of *Updike*. "He had never heard," as he *protested*, "such another speech as *Squire Updike* had made, though he had heard great speaking in Congress, and other places." This, Farmers of Rhode-Island, is the *second* of the authors of "Hints" to you.

JOHN R. WATERMAN, Esq. is a *third* man in working up this book of "Hints." It is difficult to describe Mr. Waterman, otherwise than as men, who are sometimes *missing* are described, by *height*, *features* and *complexion*. He is indeed quite a *various* man; and it may be said of him as it was of that Counsellor of Absalom who, one day, set his house in order, and hanged himself. He was

"*Ev'ry* thing by fits, and *nothing* long."

He was high for Adams one year ago. The freemen of Warwick then dropt him for *cause* as a Representative. He had no sooner touched the ground, than he whipt over on his *other* side; and sprang upon his feet "A Jackson man." If he is *any* thing, it is *one* of Mr. Potter's *conveniences*. The "Hints" have been a useful book to Mr. Waterman; for Mr. Danforth, the Collector, finding him pretty *ready* in *figuring*, has appointed him Weigher in the Custom House, with a sal-

ary of about *thirteen hundred and sixty five* dollars a year.

The *fourth* and last is the Editor or one of the Editors of the "Herald." This paper is believed to have had several persons occupied in that business, and of these one *was* WALTER R. DANFORTH Esq. Mr. Danforth was *handy* with his pen; and undertook to *smoothe* and *polish* the rough *fabrication* produced by Mr. *Updike* from the *raw materials* furnished by Mr. *Potter* and Mr. Waterman. He was *then* very anxious for the success of the Jackson Prox; and, therefore, was willing to *labor* at the *job*, furnished him by his three copartners in the authorship of the "Hints." But, if the truth could be known, it would *now* undoubtedly be found, that Mr. *Danforth* cares as little at *this time* for the "Hints," as he did at *that*, for the concerns of those to whom they were made. The President of the United States has, since the "Hints" were published by him, appointed Mr. Danforth Collector of the port of Providence, with an income of *three thousand dollars* a year.

Now, my brothers of the Plough, what think you? Do these men know much about our concerns? Do they care much for our interests? Mr. *Elisha R. Potter* is rich enough to buy one hundred of us, if we be *poor* enough to make sale of ourselves to him. Mr. *Wilkins Updike* is Mr. *E. R. Potter's*—any thing! his whistle; and plays for none but *Potter's men*. Mr. *Waterman* is snug in his office, at Providence, for the next third of a dozen years; and whether farmers raise little or great crops, will trouble him but little, if he can work it so as to get things of us cheap. *W. R. Danforth*, Esq. is Collector of Providence, certain of his $3000 a year; and will trouble none of us again with "Hints," till four years from last November; when he will "hint" to us that we ought to vote for Andrew Jackson, or whomsoever else will be most likely to keep *him*, in his office of Collector.

If we require more to convince us, that these gentlemen intended no good for us, by writing their book of "Hints to the Farmers of Rhode-Island," we may find it in the manner in which, it was scattered about the State. It was secretly printed in Providence, at the office of the "Herald." To this place no one goes, unless he be a Jackson man of the newest fashion. This

paper has but few subscribers; and was got up by a contract among a small number of partizans, who subscribed one hundred dollars each to set it in motion. Here these "Hints" were printed; and from this place committed to those partizans, sworn to secresy; and by them they were delivered to messengers *privately* to be carried to the *new Senators*, and their immediate friends, who were *engaged* to hand them about in every neighborhood; but to keep them from the eyes of all who would be *likely* to detect their falsehoods, or explain their misrepresentations. In this manner, this Book was scattered abroad like a contagious distemper; nor was it until too late, known to any one, who could have stopped the pestilence; or furnished a remedy for the disease. A few days only before the election, the Book was discovered, nor could it then be credited by those who knew its misrepresentations, that a thing so *grossly false*, could be received as truth. They were mistaken. It had passed on, in darkness, and silence; being unknown, it went to the hands of *honest* men, unsuspected and uncontradicted; and they received as truth, what no one denounced as falsehood. Thus we have been deceived, and betrayed into an act of extreme injustice. We have listened to secret and false allegations against *those* of our Senators, who have served us with *fathfulness* and *ability;* and we have *dismissed* them from our *employment*, without letting them know what was *alleged* against them; and without giving them opportunity to make their defence. We ought to have *heard* them, before we dismissed them; but this we cannot *now* do. Let us then have the justice to examine candidly "this Book of Hints." For tho' it is made *by* our enemies, *against* our friends; yet if we find it *true* we will believe it; if *false* we will *hold up* its authors to *scorn*, *contempt* and *indignation;* and stand on our *guard* against *future* deceptions.

Mr. Potter and his *men* begin their "Hints" by saying: "Rhode-Island was once prosperous and happy;" "her Legislators were wise and prudent; and her" "finances were administered with economy. But that" "day has passed away. Poverty, distress and ruin," "with a steady pace are marching upon us. For the last" "six years our State Council have scattered and wast-" "ed our resources in delirious extravagance."

friends should tell him all such *old* notes are a *fraud*, and without any *honest* consideration?

The truth is, Farmers of Rhode-Island, that the United States, and each of the several States did, at the close of the Revolutionary War owe heavy debts; that the most of these have been paid; that the United States redeemed their notes, at about 78 cents on a dollar; that this State has redeemed a part of her notes at 66 cents on a dollar; and that, if the State prosper as it did during the last administration of the Government, fifteen years to come, Rhode-Island will, without one cent of tax on landed interest, redeem, on terms equally honourable, every note now out standing against the State.

In the *Sixth* place Mr. Potter and his men in their "Hints," accuse the Senate of paying to Mr. Hazard, and Mr. A. C. Greene, the Attorney-General, $200 for attending the case of the State with the Banks, concerning the Bank tax, at the Circuit Court at Providence, last November. In order to understand this, it is necessary to look a little into this Bank tax, and consider its importance to the State.

Some years after the last War, when business began to thrive and prosper in the State, manufacturing, and commerce, between the various parts of the State, and of the United States, flourished. In consequence of this, large capitals were accumulated by the business of auctioneering, money exchange, sales in lotteries, and banking. It was found that all these several trades had grown up and were flourishing from the labours and fruits of agriculture, manufactures and commerce. Especially it appeared, that the labour and capital, which the farmers and merchants of the State, had turned from their former employments, to the business of manufacturing, had mightily multiplied all these trades; and in a peculiar manner, had these manufactures extended the business of Banking. Men could remember when all the business of the State was merely farming, trading at sea, and store-keeping, in both town and country. The old Providence Bank, and the Rhode-Island Bank, at Newport, were then the only Banks; and about $500,000 was the whole Banking capital in the State. At the present time Banks are established all over the State, and capital is employed, in this busi-

ness, to the amount of many millions of dollars. Indeed this, and the other trades above-mentioned, seem to draw their nourishment from the home trade, manufacturing, and farming of the State; very much as you have seen grape-vines in the woods grow up from the *roots*, and support themselves on the *branches* of the flourishing trees about them. In fact these were the most safe and easy, as well as the most profitable trades in the State.

In consideration of these things the General Assembly thought it but just to put a tax on Sales at Auction, Money Exchange Offices, sales of Lottery Tickets, and Banking. The proceeds of these taxes have for six years supported the government; paid all general officers; paid the Judges of the Supreme Court—the Representatives to the General Assembly—the Jurors in the several Counties; distributed to the different towns for Free Schools the sum of $10,000, and finally laid up in the Treasury of the State a balance of more than $10,000, to be disposed of as we may choose to direct.

The last year some of the Banks objected to the payment of this tax; and a suit at law was commenced in the Circuit Court to try the question. It is an important case, and of vital interest to the State. The General Assembly employed as Counsel for the State in this case Mr. Hazard and Mr. Greene the Attorney General.—On the part of the Banks were engaged Mr. Hunter, Mr. Searle, Mr. Whipple and Mr. Thomas Burgess.—The case was carried through the Circuit Court and appealed up to the Supreme Court at Washington. Now Farmers of Rhode-Island what lawyer of talents, fit to be entrusted with such a case, would have attended to it for less than $100? Mr. Updike says in the "Hints" a lawyer might have been had for $10. Mr. Updike would doubtless have been engaged for less than that amount. I have before now, given a dollar for a good substantial pocket-knife, with a pair of *keen blades* to it, one that would prune a small tree, and one that would *mend* a pen; when, at the same time, I was *offered*, for *nine-pence*, a *great, clumsy, half finished jack-knife*, that would *turn* if you attempted to cut a *green birch bow pin* with it. I think, my brothers of the plough, you would have done as I did; and I know you would have done as the General Assembly did. For it is but four years

ago that you would not choose Mr. Updike for your Attorney, tho' he offered his services to you; but did choose Mr. Greene who made no such offer.

Mr. Potter and his men make a *Seventh* accusation in their "Hints" against your Senate. They say that at last January session, the General Assembly voted to give Mr. Hazard $500 to go to Washington first to get the Bank case continued; for as *they* say, "every body knew it could not be tried." Now I pray of you inquire and "ponder" upon this accusation? Who made the motion in the General Assembly to give the $500? It was Judge Bicknell of Barrington: the *fast* friend of Mr. Potter. The very *glove* to his *hand*. Mr. Potter himself voted for it. The same sum had been voted, last October session, to Mr. Searle, for the same purpose; but Mr. Searle would not go to Washington, for *that* sum, on *that* business; and the General Assembly were obliged to engage another gentleman. In truth, inquire of every lawyer, *in* or *out* of the State, and fit for such a business; and it will be found you could not obtain a man of the *talents* of Mr. Hazard, and of his known *fidelity* to his clients, for a *less* sum than $500. What did Mr. Potter give, in his *Ezekiel Gardiner* case? He knew the price of law services; and voted that sum to Mr. Hazard.

They say "the case could not be tried, and there was no need of any lawyer to go last winter." Now this is a *gross* misrepresentation. The case would have been tried, but for one very *singular* act, in the administration of the *General* Government. There was, at the beginning of the last session of Congress, a vacancy in the Supreme Court, occasioned by the death of Judge Trimble of Kentucky. Early in December, Mr. Adams nominated to the Senate Mr. Crittenden of Ohio, as a Judge, to fill that vacancy. It is a rule of the Supreme Court, not to try cases similar to that of this State with the Banks, unless in a full Court. The Court meet the 20th of January; every body, having business in the Court, expected the Senate would confirm the nomination of Mr. Crittenden, so that he might be in Washington, early in February. It was the fact that Mr. Crittenden was *not* a *Jackson* man; and the *Jackson majority* of the Senate would not *act* on this nomination, either to *confirm* or to *reject* it, until Mr. Adams went

out of office on the 3d of March. Judge McLean was not appointed till the 7th of March; and could not then take his seat at that term. So that there was *not* a *full Court;* and our Bank case *could not* be tried. Had it not been for the *gross negligence* or *wilful omission* of the Jackson majority in the Senate of the United States, in not appointing a Judge of the Supreme Court, our case would have been tried last winter. By this management we shall have to employ a lawyer to go to Washington next winter to try our case with the Banks. Was it not prudent to be *ready* with an able lawyer?— The Banks were waiting with Mr. Whipple and Mr. Webster, attending in Court. Had our case been called, and no one there to answer for us, it must have been decided against us. We should have lost our right to tax the Banks; and the taxes must have come back again upon our lands.

The *Eighth* accusation is, that the Senate at last January session refused to concur with the House of Representatives on a Bill to repeal the 27th section of the tax law. By this section lands, or personal estate, given for the promotion of religious institutions, or for the benefit of Schools, are exempted from taxes. Now "mark how a plain tale shall put these wranglers down." This Bill had been before the House for several sessions.— At the last Jan. session, the House debated it for several days; and finally, on the evening of Friday, it was passed, by a considerable majority. It went up to the Senate. The Senate wished to consider of it. No new tax would be assessed until after the next June session. The law had stood in the law books, for more than a hundred years; and no injury could come to any party if it remained there three or four months longer. No body had ever thought this law was unjust, or inexpedient, until Deacon Constant Taber died, and by his last will, gave to the Church, of which he had long lived an exemplary member, a part of his estate. Some of those, who expected to have this estate, tried to break the will; and when disappointed, they were very angry, and swore revenge against all property, which, from the days of Roger Williams, had been given for the benefit of religion or learning. If they themselves could not have Deacon Taber's estate, they were determined it should never go to pay for preaching, or for teaching,

without first paying a tax. If the Senate had passed the law last *winter*, these persons could not have had the *comfort* of seeing the Deacon's estates *taxed*, till this *summer*. At any rate the Senate thought they ought to deliberate more than one forenoon, before they repealed a law, older than any academy, college, or meeting-house in the State. They were therefore obliged to let it lie over till the next May session.

At the last May session the new Jackson Senate took the seats of those well tried National Republicans.—What did they do? Why Major Bull, the father of the Bill in the House, had by deliberating on the matter, found it needed amendment; and got it back from the Senate for that and other purposes. It passed the House; went up to the Senate; and they, not being quite satisfied with this piece of *reform*, laid the Bill over, for consideration, till next June session. Now tell me, were your old faithful republican Senate right or wrong?

Mr. Potter and his men make a *Ninth* accusation against your Senators, concerning a question between Rhode-Island and Connecticut, about the *Pawcatuck River Fish Law*. Three Commissioners were appointed to meet a like number from that State, to settle the question. It must be settled, or the River given up to Connecticut. At the appointment of these Commissioners, it was made a question, who should pay for their services, the State, or the owners of mill-dams on the River. It is said in the "Hints" that Messrs. Dixon, Tillinghast and Allen, thought the State should pay, and so, as the "Hints" say "be saddled with an expense of three to five hundred dollars." Now is not this intolerable! Five hundred dollars for this service! Three days only were required in the business; and each Commissioner would not charge over $5 a day; making in the whole $45. Here your are called on to dismiss your republican Senators for a question about who should pay this sum; and with which they had nothing to do. Indeed the whole charge seems to be brought in, for the sake of *calling* Mr. Dixon, of *Westerly* a "*Fifth* Representative from *Providence*.

A *Tenth* accusation is made by Mr. Potter and his men, in "their Hints," against your Senators; because the House of Representatives appointed a Committee

to inquire into the number of Deaf and Dumb in the State; and the cost of giving them some instruction.—It is said this Committee reported, that the scheme would cost the State $20,700 once in four years. Now however delightful it may be to instruct the deaf, and learn the dumb to *communicate* their thoughts by *words;* yet would it be much more *honourable* for the State if some fund could be raised, to *teach* those, who *can speak*, to *speak* the *truth*. The Senate, it is true, did not appoint this Committee; but every man in the Assembly, and in the State, is honoured by the facts, principles, and feelings and the able manner in which they are set down and uttered in their Report by Mr. Tillinghast, to the humane and the wise of our country. I wish I could find room in this communication for the whole of it. I cannot; but will give you an extract just to prove that "the Hints" *refer* to this *report* for no other purpose but to *deceive* us. "It is believed that the whole number of Deaf and Dumb persons to be educated by the State, will not exceed 12; and it is known that the annual expense of each will not exceed $115. The total yearly cost to the State, will at most amount to $1,380."

For this we were called upon to dismiss our Republican Senators; because they were about to saddle the State with a cost of $5,175 a year.

The *Eleventh* accusation is driven in upon us, by Mr. Potter and his men, on *broad rim'd wheels*. These men have had the assurance to tell us, that "an Act to compel all farmers to have broad rimmed wheels has actually passed to a second reading in the House, and is postponed till next session, when it will be fixed upon us." Now what is the fact? Such a law has been *passed* in *Massachusetts*. A copy of it was obtained, read once, and laid on the table in our House of Representatives; that it might be examined, published in the newspapers, and discussed by the farmers at large in the State. Do farmers fear such a Bill will be passed, without their knowledge or consent? Who are their Representatives? They *are* farmers. Who were their Senators? Why farmers. Would such a Bill be passed by such men, until we their constituents call for it to be done? Who useses carts and waggons in the State? Do not farmers? Is it likely their neighbours, who buy wood and hay of them, will *insist* on having these articles *brought* to

them on *broad rimmed* wheels? Every one can judge for himself. Does any man in the State believe such a law can be passed until farmers demand it; and instruct their Representatives to pass it? What had the Senate to do with this pretended Act? It is not so much as intimated that it was laid on their table? or that they knew any thing concerning it. The plain matter of fact is, these men wanted to *fill* up another page in their "Book of Hints;" and so they *filled* it with *broad rimmed wheels*, as the *most likely*, as they supposed, to give us farmers trouble, and render us dissatisfied with our own public servants.

By the *twelfth* accusation we are told that our late Senators have raised the salaries of the Secretary of the State and the Supreme Court. Now how is this matter? In 1810 the Secretary had $900 a year for his salary. The last year he received $700 per annum. Which is the largest sum? His salary is lowered, not raised.

The Supreme Court, as it is confessed by all, do the business better than it used to be done. Is not their work worth more, if it is better performed? They do it in less time, so that it costs much less for parties, witnesses, and juries to attend. In years passed by, in the days of the *old Court system*, cases were *continued* for *two*, *three*, and *some* times, *four terms;* because the court *worked* so *slow*, that cases could not be *finished*, as they now are, at the *first* term. The parties had term fees and their own expenses to pay; the witnesses had to attend, term after term, for 40 cents a day, and pay a dollar a day for their board, and be absent from their business. The juries were obliged to attend, at their own or at the expense of the state. Now the business is done with so much more expedition, that at least 20 days in the whole year are saved. What is the saving each year to parties? It cannot be exactly calculated; but not less than $10,000. What is saved to the State, in the attendance of officers, waiters and juries? Not less than $1000 a year. The business is better, and more expeditiously done, by a Court satisfactory to the State, and highly honorable to the character of Rhode Island in other communities. For all this we give these men $500 more than the old Court received. Why need I detain you on this point! Mr. Updike moved to abolish this Court at the last session of the

General Assembly. You were satisfied with it; your Representatives voted to continue the new Supreme Court; all but Mr. Updike and his friend, O. Potter! and nine others, voted against his motion.

The *thirteenth* accusation is indeed for high crime and misdemeanors. They begin by saying it is the question about *free suffrage;* then call it the *American system*; and finally assure us, that whatsoever it *may* be, it *is* "the warmed Adder, whose poison is to be our death." Now what have those Senators to do with free suffrage, more than you and I, and our Representatives? Have *they* petitioned for it? Nay, has it come to this, that because a number of respectable citizens and freemen choose peaceably to petition the General Assembly for the alteration of a law, your Senators, who have faithfully served you for years, are to be *abused*, and *turned* out of your *employment* and *confidence?* What cause is there for abuse? Will not this petition be tried, like all others; and *decided* by a *majority?* The same subject was brought up, about 15 years ago. Was it then called the American system? The warmed adder to sting us to death? Why then this out cry by these men of "Hints?" The truth is, and you often find it so, in large towns; persons skulk about street in the night and cry fire! when there is none. They do this just for the sake of making noise and confusion, and then running off with plunder, gathered from the pockets, or houses, of honest people.

Here they shew their true colors. They tell us "the American system and protection of domestic manufactures, is the *warmed adder* which will *sting* us to death." These are the sentiments of your real Jackson men. They hate HENRY CLAY; and to shew their spite against *encouragement* of *domestic manufactures*, call it "the *Clay system*." It is true Mr. Clay patronises these, and therefore *all* Jackson men *hate* all manufactures, because they *hate* Mr. Clay.

We must judge for ourselves. *Would* it or would it *not* have been *better* for *farmers* had there *never* been a *factory* set up among us? We can remember the time when there was not a spindle moved by water in the state; and now there are 200,000 in operation. What could we sell then; what can we sell now? Before factories were built there was no market but at

that should accrue, and for all supplies that should be furnished, and for all damages sustained in defence against the common enemy, the same should be paid for by the United States, to be liquidated by the States. At the close of the Revolutionary war, the General Assembly, in conformity to the act of the confederated Congress, issued notice to all those who had claims against the United States, for supplies furnished, services rendered, or had sustained damages in this eventful struggle, to bring them in and have them adjusted, that they might be presented in a form the most imposing against the United States for assumption. And agreeable to this notice their claims were presented to the Legislature of this State and were liquidated accordingly. And as notes were considered the most direct and palpable in which the debt due to the people of this State could be presented and enforced against the United States, and the best evidence of the amount of the debts, State notes were issued to the amount of their claims, it being the understanding, meaning and intention of all the parties, at the time, that their notes were only evidence of the individual debts against the United States, as ascertained by the Legislature. And as many of the members of the Assembly, and perhaps all, and a great majority of the people were creditors, (Rhode-Island suffering by the war in a far greater proportion than any State in the Union,) it was popular to make liberal allowances to the claimants. And there being no adverse party to investigate into or object to these claims, notes to an immense amount were issued as the ascertained amount of these claims, all parties understanding that these notes were only used as the best mode that could be devised to shape their demands against the United States."

Mr. Potter and his men then go on to tell, in the next page; and say "that Congress assumed and paid $200,000 of these State notes; and rejected the remainder, because upon investigation they found them to be unjust and irregular; and that the State Debt is neither more nor less than these *notes* rejected by Congress as *invalid* and *unjust.*

Now, Farmers of Rhode-Island, men who tell you such a story as this must think you are *young* indeed. It is untrue *utterly;* and in itself altogether incredible. Do you believe the "whole General Assembly" and a great majority of the people of Rhode-Island *conspired* together to make *false* notes on *feigned* and *groundless* considerations *against* the United States? It was done, says Mr. Potter and his men, to give those claims "a form the most *impposing* against the United States for assumption." In plain English it was a *base trick* contrived to "*impose*" on Congress. If the men who tell us this story believe it themselves, it must be on account of some *peculiar moral* qualities of their own.

You know, fellow-citizens, this story cannot be true; for you remember, what you have heard and read, that

the Continental Congress in behalf of the thirteen States, entered into "Articles of Confederation and perpetual Union." This was finished on the 15th of November, 1777, as you find by the journal of the Continental Congress, page 330 to 334. In page 332 of this journal, we find Article 8. "All charges of War and all other expenses that shall be incurred for the common defence and general welfare, and *allowed* by the *United States* in *Congress* assembled, shall be defrayed out of a common Treasury, to be supplied by the several States in proportion to the value of lands and buildings therein owned by the people thereof. The taxes for paying that proportion shall be laid and levied by authority of the several States." By this we see, that all *expenses*, and of course all *claims* for expenses *incurred* must be *allowed* by the *United States* in Congress assembled.

What claims, then, existed against the United States; and how were such claims to be examined, allowed and paid? As they were to be *paid* by the United States out of a *common*, or *United States* Treasury, who but the United States could *examine*, and *allow* these claims? Accordingly we find by the journals of Congress, (vol. 3, page 721;) "Congress resolved to appoint Commissioners for that purpose." This was done on the 27th of February, 1782. Afterwards, May 17, 1785, as it appears by the same journal, vol. 4, page 483, "It was resolved, that all persons in any one of the States, having unliquidated claims, against the United States, shall deliver their accounts to some one of the Commissioners in such State, within twelve months, or be precluded from the allowance of them." Commissioners were for this purpose appointed in each of the United States. These Commissioners did in every State, and in Rhode-Island among the rest, set at stated times, and *examine* and *allow* all claims, which were brought before them and could be proved to be just. The *General Assembly* of *no* State *ever had* any thing *whatever* to *do* in this matter; and this Mr. Potter and his *men* must have known.

The several States also had claims against the United States; and Congress did on the 7th of May, 1787, pass an ordinance entitled "An Ordinance for settling the accounts between the United States, and the indi-

vidual States," as may be seen by the journal, vol. 4, page 743. Under this Ordinance the whole thirteen States, were formed into five Districts; and one Commissioner was appointed to each District. Six months were allowed to each State, for exhibiting their respective claims. All those claims were settled, and added together; and to them was added also, the money which the United States had hired of France, and Spain, and Holland; and the whole amounted, with the interest due upon it, to $54,124,464 56 cents on the 9th of January, 1770; as it appears by the report of the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, Alexander Hamilton.

At the same time it appeared, that, each of the several States, owed large debts. They had purchased of individuals abundance of things, necessary to carry on the War, which had raged in every State. At the close of that war, these States, which had made such purchases of individuals, owed those individuals for the articles, so purchased. Every State in the Union, honestly settled with their creditors, and issued to them State notes for the amount found due.

All those debts of the individual States amounted to about $25,000,000, as it appears by the same report of the Secretary of the Treasury;

Massachusetts owed -	$5,226,801 29
New-Hampshire - -	530,000
Connecticut - - -	1,951,173 33⅓
New-York - - -	1,167,575 25
New-Jersey - - -	783,680 65⅓
Pennsylvania - -	2,000,000
Maryland - -	800,000
Virginia - - -	3,680,743 02⅔
South Carolina - -	5,386,232 05

At the time this report was made out, the Treasurers of the States of Georgia, North Carolina, Delaware and Rhode-Island had not forwarded to the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States a statement of the State debt of each of those several States; so that this Report of the Secretary of the United States Treasury, does not contain a statement of these debts separately; but from facts in his knowledge he estimates them to be altogether for those States, $4,500,194 30⅔.

When the present Constitution of the U. States was formed, the poeple of the several States transferred to that Government their right, in each of those States, to raise a revenue by a duty on goods imported from other nations, to be used, and consumed, in this country.—This appears by the Constitution, Article 1st, section 8th—"The Congress shall have power to levy and collect taxes, *duties*, *imports* and *excises* to pay the debts and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States." By the 10th section of the same Article it appears that "No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any import duties on imports (goods brought into such State) or exports; except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws." By this, it appears, that all duties paid at the Custom Houses in this State, and in all other States, are by the Collectors, paid into the Treasury of the Government of the United States. In consideration of this grant of the People of the several States to the United States, the United States agreed to assume and pay, and did assume and pay for such States a large part of their debts. This payment and assumption was made in proportion to the taxes assessed in the several States by the 8th Article of the Confederation which has been already quoted at large. The balances remaining, after these sums were assumed by the United States, constituted and made the State debts of each of the several States.

The United States paid to France, Spain and Holland all the money, both principal and interest, which had been hired of them to carry on the Revolutionary War. They agreed and settled with their home creditors, according to what was called the *funding system*. This secured to those creditors about 78 cents on a dollar. For this those creditors agreed to give up their claims.

The debts of the several States, which, as before stated, remained for them to pay, after what the United States had assumed, have been provided for, in such manner as the Legislatures of those States have, from time to time, devised. In some of the States better and in some worse, for their creditors, than those of the general Government fared in their settlement with the United States.

Rhode-Island may not have done so well for her creditors, as the United States, or some of the several States; but nevertheless she has done pretty well for them, as it may be seen by the records of the State in regard to this matter.

This is a faithful account of the debts of the United States, of the several States, and of the State of Rhode-Island. The United States still owe a balance of their old Debt, amounting to $13,030,168 30; and the State of Rhode-Island owes also a balance of their Debt, amounting in 1829, to $68,000, without the interest.

Now what did the Committee to whom was referred the petition of certain of our creditors propose to do concerning this State Debt?—They proposed to every creditor, holding a note against the State bearing interest of 6 per cent, and on which interest had been running, without any payment, for many years, to give him a new note, bearing interest at 4 per cent; and to pay him, at *that* ratio, one year's interest in cash, if he would give up his old note, and all claim for back interest upon it. If this had been done, it would have wiped away all claim for back interest; and reduced our debt from 6 to 4 per cent. interest annually. It is true, nothing was done about this report; and the act which is set down in the "Hints" with "Be it enacted" was never acted upon, or so much as read in the House. What had your Senators to do with this matter? Why nothing; you see, therefore, that all this story of *beggaring* ourselves, and our *children*, to pay a *false, feigned* and *fraudulent* State Debt, is a fabrication *conjured* up by Mr. Potter and his men, to induce us to turn out our *faithful* and *tried* Senators; and put Jackson men in their places. The great object was to have a Senate, which would repeal the law, and bring back the old Supreme Court upon our backs. Do you know any very rich man in our South County, who has made his money by shop-keeping; and who has, for the last ten years, had a law suit with a *Farmer* for a note of about $1000? Might he not think the old Court would give him a more prosperous ending to his law suit, than he had reason to expect from Judge Eddy and his associates? Did no such man vote for Isaac Wilbour against Samuel Eddy? inquire; you will *then* understand one *great object* of having a *Jackson*

Senate, so as to *reform* the Supreme Court of R. Island.

I should have said little about the State Debt had not Mr. Potter and his men, in their "Hints" told us that it was all a *fraud*. What will be said, by those farmers, who sold cattle, and sheep, pork, and beef, corn, rye, and hay, to the Commissaries for the use of the State in the war; and received State notes for the whole amount? what will they or the sons of those who are dead say, when the United States have paid part of these notes, and the State has paid other parts of them; yes, what will they say when they read these "Hints;" and find men in Rhode-Island, wicked enough, to say their notes are without consideration, and all a fraud?

Mr. John Brown, a rich merchant in Providence, is not forgotten by *all* the men of this generation. He was one of the patriots of the Revolution; and dealt out his property to the State, with an unsparing hand. When they could not pay, he took State notes; and the unpaid balance of these notes, he left to his heirs. What has Mr. *Potter* and his *men* said in their "Hints" concerning John Brown, and the notes left by him against the State? Why they say these notes are a fraud; and that John Brown, the Patriot of the Revolution, was a knave; because he left these notes to his heirs-at-law.

Mr. John Brown Francis, of Warwick, was one of the Committee, who made the report concerning the State Debt; and advised the General Assembly to pay the creditors of the State, one year's interest at 4 per cent. if those creditors would give up all back interest, and take new notes, at 4 instead of 6 per cent. Mr. Francis is the grand-son of that distinguished citizen and patriot John Brown; and possesses nearly half of the very ample estate left by him. What will Mr. Francis say, what ought he to say, what in fact does he say, when he is told by these "Hints" from Mr. *Potter* and his *men* that the part of his inheritance left by his venerated grand father in these notes, is a *fraud* on the State; a *vile fabrication* of *deceit;* the *labour* and the *wages* of *iniquity;* a *heritage* of *lies* and *imposition?* What think you would Mr. Potter say, to Mr. Danforth, Mr. Updike, Mr. Waterman, or *any* of his debtors, whose notes have been standing more than *six years* without the payment of any interest, what would he say, if these

friends should tell him all such *old* notes are a *fraud*, and without any *honest* consideration?

The truth is, Farmers of Rhode-Island, that the United States, and each of the several States did, at the close of the Revolutionary War owe heavy debts; that the most of these have been paid; that the United States redeemed their notes, at about 78 cents on a dollar; that this State has redeemed a part of her notes at 66 cents on a dollar; and that, if the State prosper as it did during the last administration of the Government, fifteen years to come, Rhode-Island will, without one cent of tax on landed interest, redeem, on terms equally honourable, every note now out standing against the State.

In the *Sixth* place Mr. Potter and his men in their "Hints," accuse the Senate of paying to Mr. Hazard, and Mr. A. C. Greene, the Attorney-General, $200 for attending the case of the State with the Banks, concerning the Bank tax, at the Circuit Court at Providence, last November. In order to understand this, it is necessary to look a little into this Bank tax, and consider its importance to the State.

Some years after the last War, when business began to thrive and prosper in the State, manufacturing, and commerce, between the various parts of the State, and of the United States, flourished. In consequence of this, large capitals were accumulated by the business of auctioneering, money exchange, sales in lotteries, and banking. It was found that all these several trades had grown up and were flourishing from the labours and fruits of agriculture, manufactures and commerce. Especially it appeared, that the labour and capital, which the farmers and merchants of the State, had turned from their former employments, to the business of manufacturing, had mightily multiplied all these trades; and in a peculiar manner, had these manufactures extended the business of Banking. Men could remember when all the business of the State was merely farming, trading at sea, and store-keeping, in both town and country. The old Providence Bank, and the Rhode-Island Bank, at Newport, were then the only Banks; and about $500,000 was the whole Banking capital in the State. At the present time Banks are established all over the State, and capital is employed, in this busi-

ness, to the amount of many millions of dollars. Indeed this, and the other trades above-mentioned, seem to draw their nourishment from the home trade, manufacturing, and farming of the State; very much as you have seen grape-vines in the woods grow up from the *roots*, and support themselves on the *branches* of the flourishing trees about them. In fact these were the most safe and easy, as well as the most profitable trades in the State.

In consideration of these things the General Assembly thought it but just to put a tax on Sales at Auction, Money Exchange Offices, sales of Lottery Tickets, and Banking. The proceeds of these taxes have for six years supported the government; paid all general officers; paid the Judges of the Supreme Court—the Representatives to the General Assembly—the Jurors in the several Counties; distributed to the different towns for Free Schools the sum of $10,000, and finally laid up in the Treasury of the State a balance of more than $10,000, to be disposed of as we may choose to direct.

The last year some of the Banks objected to the payment of this tax; and a suit at law was commenced in the Circuit Court to try the question. It is an important case, and of vital interest to the State. The General Assembly employed as Counsel for the State in this case Mr. Hazard and Mr. Greene the Attorney General.—On the part of the Banks were engaged Mr. Hunter, Mr. Searle, Mr. Whipple and Mr. Thomas Burgess.—The case was carried through the Circuit Court and appealed up to the Supreme Court at Washington. Now Farmers of Rhode-Island what lawyer of talents, fit to be entrusted with such a case, would have attended to it for less than $100? Mr. Updike says in the "Hints" a lawyer might have been had for $10. Mr. Updike would doubtless have been engaged for less than that amount. I have before now, given a dollar for a good substantial pocket-knife, with a pair of *keen blades* to it, one that would prune a small tree, and one that would *mend* a pen; when, at the same time, I was *offered*, for *nine-pence*, a *great, clumsy, half finished jack-knife*, that would *turn* if you attempted to cut a *green birch bow pin* with it. I think, my brothers of the plough, you would have done as I did; and I know you would have done as the General Assembly did. For it is but four years

ago that you would not choose Mr. Updike for your Attorney, tho' he offered his services to you; but did choose Mr. Greene who made no such offer.

Mr. Potter and his men make a *Seventh* accusation in their "Hints" against your Senate. They say that at last January session, the General Assembly voted to give Mr. Hazard $500 to go to Washington first to get the Bank case continued; for as *they* say, "every body knew it could not be tried." Now I pray of you inquire and "ponder" upon this accusation? Who made the motion in the General Assembly to give the $500? It was Judge Bicknell of Barrington: the *fast* friend of Mr. Potter. The very *glove* to his *hand*. Mr. Potter himself voted for it. The same sum had been voted, last October session, to Mr. Searle, for the same purpose; but Mr. Searle would not go to Washington, for *that* sum, on *that* business; and the General Assembly were obliged to engage another gentleman. In truth, inquire of every lawyer, *in* or *out* of the State, and fit for such a business; and it will be found you could not obtain a man of the *talents* of Mr. Hazard, and of his known *fidelity* to his clients, for a *less* sum than $500. What did Mr. Potter give, in his *Ezekiel Gardiner* case? He knew the price of law services; and voted that sum to Mr. Hazard.

They say "the case could not be tried, and there was no need of any lawyer to go last winter." Now this is a *gross* misrepresentation. The case would have been tried, but for one very *singular* act, in the administration of the *General* Government. There was, at the beginning of the last session of Congress, a vacancy in the Supreme Court, occasioned by the death of Judge Trimble of Kentucky. Early in December, Mr. Adams nominated to the Senate Mr. Crittenden of Ohio, as a Judge, to fill that vacancy. It is a rule of the Supreme Court, not to try cases similar to that of this State with the Banks, unless in a full Court. The Court meet the 20th of January; every body, having business in the Court, expected the Senate would confirm the nomination of Mr. Crittenden, so that he might be in Washington, early in February. It was the fact that Mr. Crittenden was *not* a *Jackson* man; and the *Jackson majority* of the Senate would not *act* on this nomination, either to *confirm* or to *reject* it, until Mr. Adams went